

# Scripture

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## EDITORIAL

*The New Manuscript Discoveries.* We are pleased to hear that Rev. P. W. Skehan of the Catholic University of America is spending a year in Palestine working on the manuscript fragments in Hebrew and Aramaic. A quarter of these are from the Old Testament and mainly of the first century A.D. Fr Skehan is carrying out this work as Annual Professor from 1954 to 1955 of the American School of Oriental Research. The discoveries made in the area of the Dead Sea since 1947 have been even more striking, and fragments of a large proportion of Old Testament books have now been found. See article on p. 131.

*Obituary.* We record with regret the death of Rev. Roger T. O'Callaghan, S.J., Professor of Archaeology at Fordham University, New York, and of Professor Maxwell Power of Kenyon College, Gambler, Ohio. The two professors were killed in a car accident on 5 March in Iraq. Fr O'Callaghan, who was forty-one years old, taught at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, from 1946 to 1952, and was carrying out research in Iraq. It is a tragic loss of a gifted and promising Biblical scholar.

*Reviews.* The Argentine *Revista Biblica* celebrates the seventieth birthday of Dr Straubinger who founded it and who has done so much for Bible study there. In the January-March 1954 issue there is a large liturgical section with articles on Lent, the Paschal Vigil, and the Dialogue Mass, in addition to a generous number of Biblical articles of wide appeal, e.g. "The language that Jesus spoke", the Apocalypse of St John, types of Our Lady in the Old Testament. It is the only Catholic Biblical review in S. America and as such has a special significance.

Of rather different character is *Crux*, the magazine of the Union of Catholic Students of Great Britain, the spring number of which we have received. It is edited from Oxford, and this number has a very varied selection of articles on topical subjects. Two writers debate the Cardinal's recent pronouncement on Catholic novelists. Another considers the right approach in discussing religion with non-Catholics; then we have an article on the overseas students in London: another

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on the Priest-workers and again one on the recent pamphlets written against the Catholic Church. The articles are all topical, well written, short (none exceeds two pages) and thus well calculated to excite interest and provide genuine information. May it long flourish.

*Back numbers.* We are receiving urgent requests for back numbers of *Scripture* which are now out of print. They are as follows : Vol. I, No. 1 (1946), Vol. III, No. 3 (1948), Vol. IV, Nos. 2 and 4 (1949), and Vol. V, No. 1 (1952). We shall be happy to purchase any of these from readers.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS—NEW  
DISCOVERIES AND CONCLUSIONS  
I. KHIRBET QUMRAN: ITS CAVES  
AND MSS

Since my previous article, there have been no further important discoveries of MSS in Palestine, but a wealth of information on those already discovered is gradually becoming available, and conclusions of the highest importance for Biblical studies and Jewish history are emerging.

It will be recalled that the discoveries made in Palestine during the last seven years concern three main areas, all situated in the Judean desert to the west of the Dead Sea. From north to south these are: the *Qumran* area,<sup>1</sup> a narrow stretch of rocky cliffs extending five or six miles north and south of the ruins known as Khirbet Qumran, and located at the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, some few miles south of Jericho; the *Wadi-en-Nar* (ancient Kedron) area, including the ruins of Khirbet Mird, beginning some four miles south of Khirbet Qumran, but stretching well inland to the west from the Dead Sea; lastly, some seven miles again to the south, the *Wadi Murabba'at* area,<sup>2</sup> with its four caves, appreciably farther inland from the Dead Sea than those adjoining Khirbet Qumran. The discoveries at Qumran and Murabba'at were mainly Jewish in character, and those at the Wadi-en-Nar, chiefly Christian.

A new system of abbreviations for designating all this new and rather complicated material has been set forth by Père De Vaux in *Revue biblique*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), p. 538 note 8, the Abbé Milik suggests an interesting theory for the derivation of the name Qumran. In Christian monastic documents the coastal plain of the Dead Sea near the entrance of the Jordan is referred to as the "desert Calaman (or Papyron)", from the abundance of reeds growing there. This name was probably corrupted by monks speaking Christian Aramaic into something like Qolman, whence the modern Qumran, and the name Khirbet Qumran, applied by the Bedouin to the principal ruins of this area.

In map 5, p. 1305, of the *Catholic Commentary*, the Wadi Qumran (unnamed) is the first Wadi north of Wadi-en-Nar (beginning in square O6).

<sup>2</sup> This is the plural form; the name is also found in the singular, Murabba'at. Strictly speaking, Murabba'at is but a section of the long wadi that begins to the east of Bethlehem as Wadi Ta'amire, and enters the Dead Sea as Wadi Derajeh (*Catholic Commentary*, loc. cit., square N8).

<sup>3</sup> LX (1953), pp. 87-8. Firstly, the material of which the MS is composed is designated by a small letter, e.g. *p* (papyrus), *o* (ostrakon); where no designation is given, as is commonly the case, the material is skin or leather. Next, the place of origin is denoted by a capital letter, i.e. *Q* (Qumran), *M* (Murabba'at), *N* (Wadi-en-Nar), with the addition of a number in the case of Qumran, to indicate the particular cave, viz. 1Q (the 1947 cave), 2Q and 3Q (caves of March 1952), 4Q, 5Q and 6Q (caves of August-

The contents of the original cave of Qumran (1Q), discovered by Bedouin in 1947 and explored by Père De Vaux and Mr Harding in 1949, have been described in previous articles.<sup>1</sup> It is now estimated that the cave contained some 70 MSS (in whole or in part) all told. The figure previously given (150-200) was calculated on the basis of the number of jars present—but this inference was unwarranted, since it is now clear, from the excavation of Khirbet Qumran itself and of the other caves, that the jars in question were not specifically made or intended to contain MSS. Some caves, in fact (e.g. 6Q), yielded MSS but no pottery fragments at all. As previously noted, the complete scrolls of 1Q have been published wholly or in part; with the exception of the still-unopened Lamech Scroll (1QLamech). The 600 or so fragments now in the hands of the Palestine Museum will shortly be published together; the volume is actually in the press. Scattered references in the *Revue biblique* indicate that they include (in addition to the material previously noted) a fragment of Lev. xi (belonging to the so-called "Holiness Code") in Phoenician script, portions of a midrash on Ps. LXVIII and of another on Micah, and fragments of the apocryphal *Testament of Levi* in Aramaic, and of the *Sayings of Moses*.

Discussion regarding the origin of the sectarian MSS of 1Q, and the interpretation of the enigmatical historical allusions they contain, continues unabated.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, the new discoveries do seem to establish more and more clearly the identity of the Qumran sect with the Essenes, and their connexion, nay, even identity, with the

September 1952). Then the title of the book (where known) is indicated in an abbreviated form. In the case of Biblical material, standard abbreviations are adopted (*Gen.*, *Ex.*, *Is.*, etc.); thus, the two Isaiah scrolls from the first cave are now known as 1QIsa and 1QIsb respectively. The letter *p* (Heb., *peshet*) indicates a midrash or commentary; thus, the Habacuc Scroll is now referred to as 1QpHab. The abbreviation *phyl* stands for phylactery, e.g. *Mphyl* designates the phylactery from Murabba'at. Non-Biblical (sectarian) works are now designated by their Hebrew titles, or the first letter of the opening word: thus, the Lamech Scroll is now referred to as 1QLamech, the War Scroll as 1QM (*Mil hamat bene 'or*, i.e. War of the Sons of Light), the Thanksgiving Songs as 1QH (*Hodayoth*, i.e. Hymns), the Manual of Discipline as 1QS (*Serek hayyadah*, i.e. Rule of Community). The letter *f* is added in the case of additional fragments of these scrolls, e.g. 1QHf is the first fragment of the Thanksgiving Songs. Where the title of the work is unknown, it is designated by a number, e.g. *pMur12* designates papyrus fragment no. 12 from Murabba'at. Finally, chapter and verse may be cited in the usual way, e.g. 1QM XIV2, designates line 2, chapter xiv of the War Scroll. The new system is thus logical and convenient, though it takes a little getting used to, and some of the abbreviations are pretty formidable, e.g. 1QpP66f.3.4, which stands for line 4 of the third fragment (leather) of the midrash on Ps. LXVIII from the first cave of Qumran!

<sup>1</sup> See *Scripture*, v (1953), pp. 112-22, and the references given there.

<sup>2</sup> M. Dupont-Sommer, in his latest work (*Nouveaux Aperçus sur les manuscrits du mer mort*, Paris 1953; English translation *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, London 1954), upholds his previous theory on the origins of the sect in the first century B.C., but no longer claims for it any direct affiliation with Christianity.

Damascus or Zadokite sect, known since 1896, when its "rule-book" (CDC) was discovered in a Cairo Genizah. The *terminus ad quem* for the dating of these scrolls also seems to be fixed by archaeology as A.D. 66-70. However, it is well, as Père Barthélemy remarks, to suspend definite judgment on the identification of the allusions in the sectarian scrolls till all the new texts are published.<sup>1</sup>

A full account of the first systematic excavation of Khirbet Qumran and its adjoining cemetery, from 29 November till 12 December 1951, has now been published by Père De Vaux.<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that one striking result of these excavations (made public almost at once) was to prove that the jars of the first cave (1Q) were not Hellenistic, as had been supposed, but Roman, and were of ordinary domestic type, not specially made to contain the scrolls. It was also shown that the scrolls were deposited in the cave by A.D. 66-70 at the latest (when the main phase of occupation of Khirbet Qumran ended), and that the sect in question was probably a branch of the Essenes, mostly living in caves and tents, but using the Khirbet Qumran as a centre, and with the community cemetery adjoining. A few more details may be of interest. Outside the building, two cisterns, supplied by an aqueduct from the Wadi, were uncovered. Within the building, three rooms were revealed in the south-west angle, and two more in the north-east; soundings were also made outside the walls. These walls were of roughly quarried stone, secured with earthen mortar, and covered with a mixture of earth and plaster; in the south-west corner they were preserved to a height of 8 feet. Remains of the ceiling—apparently destroyed by fire—showed that it had been constructed of reed matting, coated with marl, just like some of the present-day Arab houses outside Jericho. Remains of a wooden door, together with several iron nails that had secured it, were also found. Nearly every room, and the outer court as well,

<sup>1</sup> Père Barthélemy does, however, give us the outline of a theory in his review of Professor Rowley's book (*Revue biblique*, LX (1953), p. 423). He distinguishes three stages in the development of the Qumran sect. Its first origins are to be sought in the pietist milieu connected with the Temple at Jerusalem early in the second century B.C.—to this period would belong the apocryphal *Testament of Levi*. The second stage is marked by the emergence of the sect in the Maccabean revolt of 166 B.C., as an element of the *Hasidim*. From this date commences the twenty-year period mentioned in CDC 1, 9-11, at the end of which comes the migration to "Damascus". The War Scroll and the earliest form of the Community Rule (1QS) date from this period. The last stage begins with the migration to Khirbet Qumran (symbolised by Damascus), under the leadership of the Master of Justice, who then begins his "forty-year" ministry. This personage is, then, one and the same as the "Star" and the "Student of the Law" who led the sect into exile and organised it there. He, likewise, is the author of the "autobiographical hymn" in the Hymns Scroll, and probably of all the hymns. Similarly, he it was that composed the lyrical ending of 1QS and certain other sections, and was responsible for the final compilation of the whole work.

<sup>2</sup> "Fouille au Khirbet Qumran", in *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), pp. 83-106.

contained coins, ranging in date from the time of Herod the Great to the first revolt of A.D. 66-70. Pottery was abundant; it was in a room in the north-west angle that the sunken jar, identical in type with the 1947 jars, was unearthed. Fragments of the bases of columns pointed to some kind of monumental construction. The large cemetery covered the rest of the projecting plateau on which the Khirbet is built, and overflowed on to four hillocks to the east. The tombs, nine of which were excavated, were arranged in rows, with a little oval cairn or simple stone marking each. The bodies were aligned from north to south (except for one which was east to west); they were simply laid in the earth without coffins, and with no offerings, ornaments or articles of apparel (save for a few pottery fragments found in one grave). Specimens sent for examination to Professor Vallois, Director of the Musée d'Homme in Paris, showed that the ages of those interred ranged from 20 to 50 years, and that some were women.

Anticipating a little, we will continue the story of the exploration of the Khirbet Qumran, resumed in February and March 1953. Only preliminary reports are so far available.<sup>1</sup> Nearly the whole of the main building was excavated, and four cisterns were uncovered, the one in the courtyard being particularly well preserved. Within the building, a large room, some 39 to 42 feet long, was laid bare. This room—apparently constructed for community assemblies—contained the remains of a *scriptorium*. There was a long plaster table (over 16 feet long, and 18 inches high), equipped with two inkpots, one of bronze, the other of terracotta, with the residue of the ink left in one of them. Along the wall was a low plaster shelf and basin—possibly used for ritual washings before or after the scribe plied his task. No MSS were found, but there were several inscribed potsherds, one of them containing the entire Hebrew alphabet in rough characters. These last-named finds, partially reconstructed, now form a special exhibition at the Palestine Museum, an eloquent witness to the teaching and practice of writing in the community centre of this ancient sect. Many, if not all, of the Qumran scrolls must have been copied in this very *scriptorium*. Some 250 coins were found—dating from the time of Alexander Janneus (103-76 B.C.), Hyrcanus II (63-40), Herod the Great (37-4), the Roman Procurators of Judea (before A.D. 70) together with 10 pieces from the period of the second Jewish War (A.D. 132-5).

On the basis of these new discoveries, it is now possible to distinguish three stages in the occupation of Khirbet Qumran :

<sup>1</sup> Report of Père De Vaux at the International Congress of Old Testament Studies, Copenhagen, August 1953 : see *Biblica*, xxxiv (1953), p. 557.

1. It was built about 100 B.C., or a little earlier, for the use of a community, and subsequently destroyed in an earthquake at a time not yet determined with certainty.

2. It was then reconstructed by the same community, and eventually destroyed a second time, probably by fire, at the time of the first Jewish War, A.D. 66-70. The sect then definitely deserted the building, taking with them their library, which they stored away for safe-keeping in various caves and hiding-places, some natural, some specially constructed for the purpose.

3. Some small rooms were later constructed in the ruins (these are apparently the rooms excavated in 1951), and used by persons not belonging to the sect: first, it seems, a Roman garrison, and later, Jewish insurgents of the second revolt. It was during this second revolt, A.D. 132-5, that the site was finally deserted—passing over a slight Arab occupation of the thirteenth century.

Excavation of Khirbet Qumran was due to be completed in a third season, starting probably in February 1954.

To resume the story of the Qumran caves, a full account of the organised search of the area in March 1952 has also been published by Père De Vaux in *Revue biblique*.<sup>1</sup> It now appears that the exploration was occasioned by the discovery, early in 1952, of another MSS cave (later known as 2Q) by the indefatigable Ta'amire Bedouin of the Judean desert. Two lots of MSS, seemingly all that had been found, came into the hands of a Bethlehem dealer, and, fortunately, the French Archaeological School and the Palestine Museum were able to purchase them in their entirety. As mentioned in previous articles, an expedition was at once organised, the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem also co-operating with the two above-mentioned bodies. The narrow area of rocky cliffs<sup>2</sup> extending some 6 miles north and south on either side of Khirbet Qumran (from Hadjar el-Asba to Ras Feshka) was thoroughly combed, and 37 caves, grottoes and rock-recesses explored. These were situated on two principal levels, and it was in those of the lower level (25 in number) that pottery was found in considerable quantity, identical in form with the jars and other material from 1Q and Khirbet Qumran itself. The same pottery was also found in an ill-defined rectangular enclosure, on the coastal plain, between the cliffs and the sea. One cave yielded an

<sup>1</sup> "Exploration de la région de Qumran", in *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), pp. 540-61.

<sup>2</sup> It is pointed out that three successive strata, one above the other, may be distinguished to the west of the Dead Sea: the coastal plain, the marl terrace and the cliff region. The Khirbet Qumran itself is situated on an outcrop of the marl terrace, forming a kind of plateau with steeply sloping sides. Coastal plain and terrace gradually narrow towards the south, and at Ras Feshka the cliffs come down to the sea. The whole area, it should be noted, is below sea level.



unusual find—wooden tent-supports, evidence that some of the sect lived in tents. Père De Vaux sees in this discovery additional confirmation for the identification of Khirbet Qumran with "Damascus" in *CDC*—for this document speaks of the "tents of Damascus" (vii, 1), where Damascus is but a symbolic name for Qumran, seeing that place-names are habitually disguised in this work.

Two caves were found to contain mss—2Q and 3Q, 1 km. and 2 km. north of Khirbet Qumran respectively. It was from 2Q that the Bedouin had extracted the two lots of mss, so nothing was found there except two small written fragments. However, the material acquired from the Bedouin—now being examined by M. Baillet, pupil of Père De Vaux—was found to contain 100 legible fragments. Biblical fragments in Hebrew include Exodus (portions of two scrolls, the first containing excerpts from chs. i, vii, ix, xi-xii, xxvi, xxx, the second, from chs. xviii, xxi-xxii and xxxiv); Leviticus xi.22-8 written in Phoenician script; Numbers (portions of chs. iii, iv and xxiii, the last perhaps from a second scroll); Deuteronomy i.7-9 and xvii.12-15; Ruth—portions of two scrolls, including chs. ii and iii, and ch. iii respectively; Psalms cxi and ciii; Jeremias, chs. xlii-xliv, xlv, xlvii-xlix, the last-named in the Massoretic tradition, like 1QIsb). Among the non-Biblical material have been identified Hebrew fragments of the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees*, ch. xli.1-2 (it will be recalled that 1Q yielded a fragment from xxvii.19-21); some ten fragments in Aramaic, containing a text of a liturgical character, referring to a ceremony involving the use of bread; and finally, a number of Hebrew fragments, too small to identify with certainty, written in a great variety of script, and indicating a large number of mss. It is calculated that this cave contained 40 mss all told, with the proportion of Biblical material about one in four—roughly the same as in the other mss caves, with the exception of 3Q, the contents of which were very poor.

In the other cave (3Q), the roof had collapsed, and it was only after ten days' excavation that a few inscribed leather fragments were found, mingled with the rubble and in a poor state of preservation, owing to the depredations of rats and worms. One of the largest of these fragments, however, is of some interest, and has been published and described in the *Revue biblique*.<sup>1</sup> It is the beginning of a roll of unbleached skin, carefully ruled at regular intervals of 9 mm. (about  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.), written in clear letters 3 mm. tall; it contains part of Isaiah i.1 (lines 1-2), followed by a commentary (lines 3-6), which appears to be a simple explanatory gloss, rather than a midrash. It may be rendered as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *art. cit.*, pp. 555-6 and plate xxiv, b.



1. Vision of Isaias, son of Amos. . . .
2. Jotham, Achaz. . . .
3. Isaias prophesied concerning. . . .
4. . . . King of Juda. . . .
5. (existing portion blank)
6. The second name. . . .

Since the kings in whose reigns Isaias prophesied were Ozias, Joathan (Jotham), Achaz and Ezechias (Is. 1.1), the "King of Juda" (line 4) probably refers to Ozias, and "the second name" to Joathan (line 6). It is reckoned that the columns of this scroll are of the same breadth as those of the great Isaias scroll (1QIsa), but that the script resembles that of the more recent group of 1Q MSS (e.g. 1QIsb). If the biblical text and gloss had been continued in the same fashion till the end of the book of Isaias, the whole work would have taken up several scrolls—unless the commentary were not so detailed for the rest of the book, or covered only part of the prophecy. However this be, this new find confirms the great predilection of the Qumran sectaries for the prophet Isaias.

Other fragments represent some ten different mss, in one of which there is an allusion of the "Angel of the Face" (*mlk hpnm*), mentioned in some of the Apocrypha; another seems to contain hymns. There were no further Biblical texts. However, besides a considerable quantity of pottery—jars, lids, pitchers and a lamp—it was in this cave that the two copper scrolls, mentioned in previous articles, were found.<sup>1</sup> They were placed one on top of the other against the wall of the cave, without covering, and were fortunately undamaged by the collapse of the roof. As previously suggested, they had probably formed a single plaque, set up on the wall of the main building at Khirbet Qumran—perhaps in the community room mentioned above—and contained some sort of public notice. The size of the letters, 1 cm. in height, bears out this explanation. One is reminded of the reference in 1 Mach. VIII.21 to the alliance of Judas Machabeus with Rome in 160 B.C., the text of which was inscribed on brass tablets by the Romans. It is known, too, that the Romans were accustomed to inscribe laws and foreign treaties in this manner on the walls of the Capitol. When the community evacuated Khirbet Qumran in A.D. 66–70, the plaque was taken down, cut in two, rolled up so as to keep the text on the inside, and stored away in the cave. These two remarkable objects—unfortunately completely oxidised—still remain unrolled in the Palestine Museum, but the impressions of the

<sup>1</sup> These scrolls are apparently of copper (*cuiure*), not bronze, as first reported.

Hebrew characters can be discerned in reverse on the outside, and so some general idea can be formed at least of the central portion of the inscription. It is in columns, in square Hebrew characters (like those on the ossuaries found near Jerusalem), and seems to be some kind of list or catalogue, to judge from the short paragraphs, frequent numerical indications, abbreviations and repetitions. Professor A. H. Corwin, of Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A., is to attempt to unroll them by a new chemical process, experimenting first on a similar unscripted oxidised copper roll. If the experiment is unsuccessful, then the scrolls will be cut up into strips and deciphered in fragments.

One general result of this survey was to show the density of habitation over this rather desolate area—the sect must have numbered several hundreds, though probably not a thousand, bearing in mind the size of the Khirbet Qumran building and the limitations of water- and food-supply. The cemetery, with its 1,100 graves, had, of course, served for a period of over a hundred years. No money was found in any of the caves; when we relate this to the plentiful finds of coinage in Khirbet Qumran itself, it becomes clear that individual members of the sect did not possess money, but that there was a common fund, centralised in the community building. We may conclude that property was held in common—an inference which confirms the identification of the sect with the Essenes.<sup>1</sup> Finally, it is clear that any one of the 37 caves explored—or even another as yet undiscovered—could be the cave mentioned by the Patriarch Timothy, in which Hebrew MSS were discovered about the year A.D. 800, or the cave(s) alluded to by the Karaite writer Kirkisani in the tenth century, in connexion with the sect of Magharia, so called because their writings were found in a cave.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of careful organisation and intensive search, some hiding-places escaped the attentions of the expedition of March 1952, and there must have been others where the apertures had been sealed by falls of rock; moreover, the archaeologists confined their search to the rocky cliff area, neglecting the seaward terrace region. It was

<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion was already drawn on the basis of the location of the Qumran sect (corresponding to Pliny's description, i.e. west of the Dead Sea, and north of Engaddi), and also of many allusions in the 1Q scrolls, e.g. the organisation of the sect, its stress on purity and poverty, its doctrine of "destiny" and the future life, apocalyptic hopes, allegorical exegesis, and, in general, its great literary activity. It is objected that the Essenes, as Josephus describes them, were celibate, whereas some of the skeletons of the Qumran cemetery were those of women. However, it is possible that celibacy was introduced only after the sect had been some time in existence (say, late in the first century B.C.)—or, more probably, that the women in question were pious strangers who had expressed a wish to be buried in the hallowed ground of the community. Parallel instances may be cited for Christian monasteries of later years.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Scripture*, vi (1953), pp. 18, 30.

not surprising, then, that in the following August the Bedouin discovered the "rocky hole" (6Q),<sup>1</sup> mentioned in my previous notes, which yielded a fragment of CDC, and also located an artificial chamber (4Q) situated on the very edge of the terrace of Khirbet Qumran. This latter was the cave of the "sensational finds", and, as mentioned in previous notes, an archaeological expedition was quickly organised by the Jordan Department of Antiquities, and spent a week in September 1952 exploring the place and assembling the MSS. This same expedition also located another chamber near by (5Q), which contained MSS fragments in poor condition. Only preliminary reports are available as yet of these new discoveries.

Nothing is yet known of the fragments found in 5Q, and the only MSS named so far as coming from 6Q is a fragment consisting of six lines of the famous Damascus Document (Sadoqite Work, CDC), representing v.18 to v.13. This little discovery adds further proof of the close connexion—if not identification—of the sect of the Damascus Covenanters (often referred to as the "Sect of the Master of Justice") with the Qumran Sect ("Community Sect"—a name derived from the title of 1QS). It is further pointed out that this new fragment is related to the second form (B) of the original CDC document found in the Cairo Geniza in 1896. This second form—according to a recent theory<sup>2</sup>—would contain material interpolated from the Manual of Discipline (4QS) into the primitive form (A) of CDC. This suggests that the older sect of Qumran ("Community Sect") became united with the newer Damascus Sect ("Sect of the Master of Justice") and that a new common rule was adapted from the two pre-existing documents. Such conclusions, however, must remain somewhat speculative in our present state of knowledge, especially as it now appears that there are two forms of 1QS itself (the second found in fragments from 1Q still to be published), besides another version found in cave 4Q. The question of the primitive rule-book known as "Hagu", mentioned both in CDC and 1QS, has still to be settled.

It was cave 4Q that proved richest of all in MSS material, though it will take some time, possibly some years, to assess it fully. The finds are mostly fragments, some of which are in poor condition due to the dampness of the marl in which they were found embedded; frequently they can be read only by the aid of infra-red photography (this method is said to increase the legibility of most MSS by about

<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been some initial confusion in the numbering of these caves; I have adopted the classification given in recent numbers of *Revue biblique*.

<sup>2</sup> L. Rost, in *Theologische Literatur Zeitung*, LXX (1952), pp. 723-6, cited in *Biblica*, xxxiv (1953), pp. 269-70.

one-third); then there is the very tedious work of identifying language and content, and finally gradually assembling the fragments of one and the same work. Preliminary reports indicate that perhaps 100 scrolls all told are represented, considerably more than the estimated 70 of 1Q.<sup>1</sup> In them can be traced every stage in the development of Hebrew script from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 70. Fragments of some 60 mss of the Old Testament (in Hebrew) have been identified—all the proto-canonical books are represented, save *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Esdras-Nehemias*. There are also portions of the Book of Tobias in Hebrew and Aramaic. The fragments of 1 Sam. 1-11 have been published and described by Professor F. M. Cross, annual professor of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, who is at present working on the material from 4Q, together with Père Barthélemy, Abbé Milik and others at the Palestine Museum (the mss have fortunately not been scattered, like those of 1Q).<sup>2</sup> There are in all 27 leather fragments, making up part of two columns of a scroll. The script is assigned on palaeographical grounds to the second century B.C. (in transition to the so-called "Herodian" character), and is described as a regular "bookhand". More important, however, is the fact that the Hebrew text, like that of other Hebrew fragments from 4Q still to be published, is in the LXX tradition, corresponding, specifically, to the B recension, as represented by the Codex Vaticanus. This suggests that the Septuagint translation—in *Samuel* and elsewhere—is more accurate and faithful than many were inclined to believe; or, in other words, that the "peculiarities" of the LXX version are not due to a somewhat free rendering or interpretation of a text in the Massoretic tradition, but to the faithful reproduction of an original Hebrew text that differed from, and antedated the Massoretic.

The rest of the mss material includes Biblical commentaries and paraphrases, e.g. a commentary on Ps. xxxvii, on Isaiah and some of the minor Prophets, and a midrash on Gen. xlix; apocryphal works<sup>3</sup>; sectarian documents, which include more "Thanksgiving Songs", a second copy of the War Scroll (1QM) and of the Manual (1QS), both in the known form and in an earlier textual type, new texts of CDC and other works previously unknown (some written

<sup>1</sup> Cp. scattered references in *Revue biblique* (1953); also *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, cxxxii (1953), pp. 15-17, and F. M. Cross, "The mss of the Dead Sea Caves", in *Biblical Archeologist*, xvii (1954), pp. 14-20. The last-named article contains a very readable account of the present position, especially regarding the mss of 4Q, on which the author is working.

<sup>2</sup> "A new Qumran Biblical fragment relating to the Hebrew underlying the Septuagint", in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, cxxxii (1953), pp. 15-26.

<sup>3</sup> Reports that the Aramaic original of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* has been found have not been confirmed.

in a "cryptic Essene script", only recently deciphered by the Abbé Milik.<sup>1</sup>) Phylacteries have also been found which differ from those of Murabba'at inasmuch as they contain the decalogue, and—for the first time in this locality—fragments in Greek.

Finally, some account must be given of a peculiar and significant document found in 4Q—fragments of a kind of "Book of Testimonies", or collection of Messianic texts from the Bible. The texts are: Deut. XVIII.18ff. (promise of the great "prophet") combined with Deut. V.25-9; Num. XXIV.15-17 (Balaam's prophecy of the "Star" of Jacob) and Deut. XXXIII.8-11 (the blessing of Levi). The purpose of the collection would seem to be the justification of the Messianic concepts of the sect, especially their use of the favourite Messianic title "Star", and their association of the Messiah with the tribe of Levi as well as with that of Juda.

Here we may well pause for a while and glance at the information we have regarding this most interesting aspect of the doctrine of the Qumran sectaries. Certain it is that Messianic expectation among them was very intense—even, perhaps, to the extent of modifying one or two readings in the first Isaiah scroll (1QISa) to make the Messianic sense more clear.<sup>2</sup> Certain, too, it is that the Messianic hopes of the sect were of the "apocalyptic" type found in some of the apocrypha of the Old Testament, rather than of the "Rabbinic" type which seems to have been commoner in Palestine in Our Lord's day.

They expected the proximate advent of a "Messiah of Aaron and Israel", or, more probably, of two Messiahs, one of the tribe of Levi, the other of that of Juda.<sup>3</sup> Thus 1QS, IX.11 has, "till the coming of the Prophet and of the (two) Messiahs of Aaron and Israel". The same idea had already been noted in several places in CDC, though here the phrase is in the singular form "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". The War Scroll (1QM) speaks of the "great hero" (probably the Messiah of Israel) whose valiant deeds and victory in the apocalyptic war are extolled by the "Priest-in-Chief". The first additional fragment of the Manual (1QSa)<sup>4</sup> says that in the "last times" there will arise the Priest and the Messiah of Israel, the latter being subordinated to the former in the description of the eschatological banquet. In the series of blessings contained in the second fragment of the same

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Cross, *art. cit.*, in *Biblical Archeologist*, xvii (1954), p. 16 note.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the reading "I so anointed his appearance beyond that of anyone else" (Massoretic text: "his appearance was so marred . . ."), in Is. LI.14. See W. H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran scrolls, I", in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, CXXXII (1953), pp. 8-15.

<sup>3</sup> For much of this information I am indebted to J. T. Milik, writing in *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), pp. 290-2.

<sup>4</sup> 1QSa and 1QSB are fragments of two columns forming a kind of "annex" to 1QS; they represent an earlier and different form of the Rule.

work (1QSb), one blessing concerns the "Prince of all the Congregation" (Messiah of Israel), the other, probably, the Priest-in-Chief (the title is missing). The same distinction of two Messiahs is met with in the apocalyptic *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which may be connected with the sect), and is mentioned early in the third century A.D. by the Christian writer Hippolytus, who says that the expectation of two Messiahs was realised in Jesus, who was both of the tribe of Juda and of Levi, King and Priest (*Commentary on the Blessings of Isaac, Jacob and Moses*).

The Messianic title "Star"—derived from Balaam's prophecy in Num. xxiv.17—is applied in the same *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* both to the Aaronic Messiah (*Testament of Levi*, xviii.3) and to the Messianic King, or Messiah of Israel (*Testament of Juda*, xxiv.1). It is applied to the Messianic King, Son of David, in CDC vii.20, in 1QSb, in the midrash on Gen. xlix mentioned above (4QpGen49), and later in the Targum Onkelos and on the lips of the second-century Rabbi Aqiba, who applied it to Bar Kokhba. The title "Prince", deriving probably from Ezech. xxxivff., where it designates the eschatological chief of the people, is also found applied to the Messiah of Israel in CDC vii.20 and in 1QSb.

These Messianic ideas of the sect are not only interesting in themselves, but also help us to understand the background of the second Jewish War (A.D. 132-5), which is reflected in the MSS of Murabba'at. The leader of this revolt was saluted by Rabbi Aqiba as the Messianic "Star", whence his popular title, "Bar Kokhba (Cochebas)", i.e. "Son of the Star". The same leader is designated on coins and in the document of Murabba'at as "Simeon (ben Kozeba), Prince of Israel", and with him, on the reverse of the coins, is associated "Eleazar the Priest", who was possibly regarded as the Messiah of Aaron.

Much, then, has been learnt about the sect of Qumran from these recent discoveries. What new light do they throw on the history of the text of the Old Testament? It will be remembered that the Biblical texts found in the Wadi Murabba'at, dating from the second Jewish War, A.D. 132-5, were all in full conformity with the Massoretic tradition; also that the Greek text of the Minor Prophets, found in a locality not yet determined with certainty in the summer of 1952, pointed to the existence of a "Palestinian recension" (R) of the Septuagint according to the Hebrew Massoretic, which was made between about A.D. 70 and 100.<sup>1</sup>

Bearing all these things in mind, several stages may now be distinguished in the history of the text of the Old Testament :

<sup>1</sup> See my previous notes, in *Scripture*, vi (1953), pp. 20-1.

1. Before A.D. 70, there were various Hebrew texts. One would be that later adopted by the Massoretes, represented by the second Isaías scroll (1QIsb). Another would be that underlying the LXX (referred to as G), which is represented by the Habacuc Scroll (1QHab), and the fragments of 1 Sam. and of other books found in 4Q.<sup>1</sup> Yet a third would be that found in the first Isaías scroll (1QIsa), with its peculiar variants and orthography. This text is not a predecessor of the Massoretic, as some thought, but a kind of "popular recension" ("Vulgärtext"—K), possibly part of a kind of "Hebrew revival" for the benefit of the Aramaic-speaking people of the second or even third century B.C., as Rowley and others have suggested.

2. Between the years A.D. 70 and 100 (Professor Cross would go even earlier for Isaías and the Pentateuch), the work of unifying the Hebrew text begins—thus, the text underlying the LXX recension R rarely differs from the Massoretic.

3. About A.D. 100 the Septuagint is adapted to the Hebrew (recension R).

4. By the year 135, the Massoretic text prevails—witness the documents of Murabba'at. About this time, Aquila begins the further systematic adaptation of the Greek R to the Massoretic text in his Greek version.

5. In the second century A.D., R is diffused in Palestine, Egypt (cp. the Coptic versions) and Asia (cp. Justin's references).<sup>2</sup> Yet, even before A.D. 200, it had succumbed to the new Jewish versions based on it, namely, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.

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<sup>1</sup> F. M. Cross (*loc. cit.*) speaks of "other mss of *Samuel* from Qumran, some with a similar tradition, some more closely related to the traditional text" (p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> For these allusions, see my previous notes (*loc. cit.*).



## THE "VENGEFUL" PSALMS

Vengeance over his enemies is continually being sought by the psalmist, cf. Pss. xvii; xxxiv; li; lviii; lxviii.23-9; cviii.6-20; cxxxvi, etc. These sentiments seem unchristian and wrong. It is no answer to say that we are today no better than the psalmist because we do not claim divine inspiration for our defective desires. The point is how do we reconcile these sentiments with the divine authorship? There are various considerations which may help to put things in a different light.

God's interests are identified with those of Israel or the psalmist in particular. God had chosen Israel so that true religion might be preserved by identifying his interests with those of the nation. If Israel remained true to him, He on his part promised to protect them from their enemies. This meant defeating and even destroying Israel's enemies at times. This was regarded by Israel as just punishment for their idolatry. "Pour forth thy wrath upon the Gentiles who know thee not", Ps. lxxviii.6. God's enemies are those of Israel and vice versa. There is no real distinction. When the psalmist prays for vengeance on his enemies he is not doing this merely to get rid of those who stand in his way. On the contrary it is a desire to see these people punished for their sins against God. We can see from the historical Books that frequently the nations destroyed by Israel were so destroyed because of the abominations they practised, and not merely because they stood in Israel's way. This identification is to be found not only in the psalms which deal collectively with the problem but also in the individual psalms. The true Israelite regarded himself as the true representative of Yahweh.

Even granting that the psalmist is asking for punishment for sin, the question will still be put, is this a justifiable request? Should he not rather ask mercy for them as Christ did on the cross? The answer is, briefly, that forgiveness of the latter kind was unknown till Christ came to teach it to us. The psalmist was a man of his time. He lived under a law which was itself imperfect—far less perfect than the law of the New Testament. Love of one's enemies was not taught in the Old Testament. This was a New Testament development. Hate was not taught either but, as we shall see, it could easily follow. Further, although we should not normally invoke God's vengeance on sinners as it is invoked in some of the psalms, nevertheless we should not go to the other extreme and assert that it is wrong. It is imperfect

but not wrong. We should further recall the historical circumstances of the event under consideration. It often happens that it throws much light on the sentiments expressed.

This problem of the "imprecatory" psalms (as they are called) is part of the larger problem of the imperfect morality of the Old Testament as a whole. Frequently we do not know the circumstances of the psalm, at least not with any certainty, but we do know the circumstances in which similar sentiments were uttered frequently at other times. The prophetic Books are full of them and there are numerous instances in the historical Books.

What are we to think of God's action in exterminating nations? Sometimes it looks as if the nation is being destroyed for political reasons only, e.g. 1 Kings xv.2, yet *Deuteronomy* points out that they are being destroyed for their sins and because they have led or will lead Israel into sin, if they have any contact with them. We may mention the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xviii.20). And if it be argued that there were doubtless innocent children in those cities we must recognise that the Author of life can take away life when he wills, just as he sends lesser ills for his greater honour and glory, cf. Book of *Job*.

A further question is perhaps not quite so easy to answer. Granted that God may so act, what are we to think of men exterminating men, women and children in the name of God and apparently at his express command? There are some who say that this is not reconcilable with his goodness, and that perhaps Israel mistakenly thought they were acting as God's instrument in this matter when in fact they were only serving their own interests.

There are very numerous passages in the Old Testament in which explicit commands are given to Israel to destroy her enemies. We cannot believe that such commands were conveyed at the time under any mistaken impression that they came from God when in fact they did not. On the other hand, we must not forget that there was then no clear distinction between the interests of the nation and the interests of God. It was in fact by means of this identification of interests that God hoped, so to speak, to keep Israel faithful. In view of this identification and because of the tenacity of Israelite tradition, some writers have asked whether all the express commands of this kind are to be taken as having been received directly from God at that apparent moment with all the attendant details. In view of what we now know, for example, about the composition of *Deuteronomy* it is asked whether it is not rather a case of particular commands composed by the writer on the basis of and in the general line of the Law and Tradition and derivable from God's original instructions to his people. Whether

such instances occur in a particular Book would depend of course on the nature of the literary form of that Book.

That God used Israel and did not destroy her was not because of her innocence. Many times he threatened to destroy her for her sins, but there was always a mediator at hand to remind him of his Covenant with Israel and that he owed it to his glory to allow Israel to survive "lest the Gentiles say : Where is their God". So Israel survived, not because better than her enemies but because God is faithful to his promises.

Indeed, God never tires of repeating that he chose Israel not because of their good qualities but rather because they had little to recommend them—in order that his glory might shine forth from his dealings with them.

If we admit God's right to take away life as he thinks fit, it is hard to deny that he could use men as his instruments in this matter. Many times, of course, the instrument appears to have gone beyond any orders he may have received from God, as, for example, Jehu in iv Kings ix and x.

One difficulty in accepting this use of men by God is that it seems to us to be inculcating a spirit of revenge, not to say a thirst for blood. But we have said that it was an age of great imperfection during which certain things had to be tolerated in order to secure the more fundamental principles. Thus God knew that unless Israel kept herself absolutely away from the surrounding nations she would be contaminated and all true belief would once again be lost. But if such isolation were to be achieved it would probably mean that a certain degree of antipathy to other nations would be engendered. This had to be overlooked until Christ came to teach us the full revelation of God. To have told Israel to love her enemies would have meant only that she would have fraternised even more than she did with her neighbours and have gone even more thoroughly "a-whoring after false gods". The fact is that, up to the Exile, God's strict instructions to avoid and exterminate her enemies were consistently ignored or minimised with the expected result which God had foretold, namely gross idolatry in Israel and all kinds of immorality. It was only after the Exile that Israel finally clung to God, just as it was only after the Exile that Israel developed that hatred of the Gentiles with which we are so familiar. The latter had to be overlooked for the sake of the former ; just as other imperfections had to be ignored to avoid greater evils, e.g. polygamy and divorce to avoid wife-murder. As Our Lord said, divorce was allowed by Moses because of the hardness of men's hearts but from the beginning it was not so.

If God did in fact use men as his instruments in destroying other

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nations then he had to tolerate the desire for their destruction. It was too early for the distinction between hating the sin and loving the sinner. A command from God to destroy a nation was not accompanied by a command to hate them but clearly it was only a short step to take and the time was not ripe for insisting on loving one's enemies. Again, the desire to see God's enemies punished is not the same as hating them. God could inspire the former desire but not the hate. However, Israel would not have troubled to make the distinction and no doubt God tolerated that attitude.

If, finally, it be objected that many expressions of such desires seem unnecessarily cruel, e.g. Ps. cviii.6-20 or Ps. cxxxvi.9, we may observe that the Psalms are poetry and a good many expressions may well be figurative. The psalmist speaks of vengeance in terms of contemporary conduct, and we know how cruel they could be in those days. Hyperbole is often used to describe God's vengeance on Israel's enemies.

PAROCHUS

## THE JOHANNINE AUTHORSHIP OF APOCALYPSE, GOSPEL AND EPISTLES

The above title suggests a scholarly examination of the subject, but the writer of these notes has no claim to be a scholar. The ideas he presents are merely thoughts which have come to him in the peace and quiet of a country convent chaplaincy. Perhaps they may encourage other non-experts to meditate on subjects usually left to those possessing a high standard of professional knowledge.

By general acknowledgment the books attributed to St John were written in the following sequence: first, the Apocalypse; next, the Gospel, and last of all the three epistles. I hope to show that the unity of authorship throws light on the books themselves.

John, then, had seen his Master in heavenly glory, a sight so overwhelming that even the Beloved Apostle fell as one dead at the Sacred Feet. Such an experience, repeated many times in the course of his prayer-visions, must have left an unfading impression on his mind, so that when he came to write his gospel he invented nothing but did see his Lord aureoled in glory all the time.

The Fourth Gospel is called the Gospel of Glory. In it there is no description of the Transfiguration, apart from a possible reference in the text: "We beheld His glory", but throughout we are shewn a transfigured Christ, as though the glory on the Mount was His normal state. Now, John alone begins his Gospel in heaven. Not to Nazareth or Bethlehem are we taken, but to the Trinity in heaven. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Next, we are told how this Word created all things; and so to the coming of the Creator-Word into the world He had made: "The Word was made flesh. . . ."

Again, John consciously models his first chapter on *Genesis*—"in the beginning". I suggest that here we have the influence of his apocalyptic vision of the Woman in glory with her Child, and how they were assailed by the great dragon. This scene of those three may well have suggested to John another grouping of the same three in the account of the Fall. If so, how natural that John should remember the opening words of *Genesis* and repeat them, the more so as *Genesis* described how God created, and John will tell how all things were created by the Word, and that nothing was made that He did not create.

Further, the vision of the sun-clad Woman may have influenced John to describe how it was that this Woman of destiny, *the Woman*

of Scripture, was the providential instrument for calling forth from her Son the first manifestation of His power at the Cana marriage feast. Another link between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel may be seen in its account of the Crucifixion, in which Mary's place at the foot of the Cross and the proclamation of her motherhood are narrated. Now, John had seen the heavenly vision of the Mother and Child, a vision which may well have had for him a double meaning: Mary and her Child in the one case, and the Church and her children in the other. John knew we are all members of Christ, and therefore his mind would have an easy passage to the thought of Mary's universal motherhood. Eager, then, would he be to tell how that motherhood was heralded by the Son Himself from the pulpit of the Cross.

I now come to the epistles—at any rate to the first. By the time the aged apostle had written the epistles he had had time to notice growing tendencies, just as at the time of writing his gospel he had probably seen the beginnings of St Peter's supremacy being questioned, since Peter had fallen so gravely. So John, seemingly, took up his finished manuscript, with its perfect ending: "These things are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ . . .", and added the great story of Peter's appointment as the One Shepherd of the One flock, a story proving beyond all doubt that Peter had not been deposed—he was to feed and to rule the flock Christ had died for.

So with another matter: John in his gospel had stressed the divinity of Christ, as though he underlined in the phrase "The Word was made flesh" the name "Word". But he had lived to see the beginnings of a docetic denial of the reality of Christ's flesh, and so he wrote his first epistle with its emphasis on the word "flesh" in the same phrase. "This is the test by which God's Spirit is recognised; every spirit which acknowledges Jesus Christ as having come to us in human flesh has God for its author" (Knox tr.). Indeed, the Apostle begins the epistle by affirming he has "handled", as his eyes have seen, this Incarnate Word. So the epistle helps us to understand the gospel. I think, too, St John wished also to stress the social aspect of charity. In his gospel he had heard and told of the promulgation of the New Commandment in the Upper Room, when the Sacrament of Unity and social communion was instituted: in the epistle he labours the necessity of this charity being communal, "We know we have passed from death to life because we love the brethren"; "if we love one another, God abideth in us". Text after text shows this anxiety to supplement the gospel, in which he had emphasised the personal aspect of religion. John had no need to make retractions like an Augustine, but he certainly gives new and additional stresses, based,

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no doubt, on the experience of a long life and all that had taught him of tendencies within the Christian fellowship.

May these few thoughts encourage others to explore the Scriptures however slight their technical equipment to do so.

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## A NOTE ON JOHN VII.37-8

These verses have long been a difficulty to myself, and I expect to others also ; having come to a definite opinion on the matter, I record it in the hope that it may be of some help to others. Two translations are possible, according as one takes the words *καὶ πινέτω* ("and let him drink") with what precedes or what follows. The alternatives are well set forth by Père Lagrange in his commentary on the gospel.<sup>1</sup> If we take the words with what precedes, we must put a full stop after them, and then continue : "He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith, rivers of living water shall flow from his belly". With this translation, the believer himself must obviously be understood to be the source of the living water.

But if we take the two words with what follows, we must translate : "If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink, even he that believeth in me. As the scripture saith, 'rivers of living water shall flow from his belly' ". With this translation, the drink is supplied by Christ, to whom the "his" refers. It is from Christ's body that the water flows. The next verse expressly says that Christ was speaking of the Spirit, which those who believed in Him were to receive. This is the rendering preferred by Lagrange, though he allows that the explanation given first in this note is probable. He refers to C. H. Turner's note in the *Journal of Theological Studies* "on the punctuation of St John vii.37-8",<sup>2</sup> and to Armitage Robinson's "The Passion of St Perpetua", in *Texts and Studies*.<sup>3</sup>

I myself was finally convinced of the second view by two formidable articles in German by Father Rahner, S.J., in *Biblica*, the large quarterly of the Biblical Institute, Rome.<sup>4</sup> They are entitled "*Flumina de ventre Christi : die patristische Auslegung von Joh. vii.37-8*". But the best summary of the question seems to be that in the note by the late C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, already mentioned, "on the punctuation of St John vii.37-8". His chief purpose is "to examine the early patristic evidence". "Origen", he explains, "is the great pillar of the 'received' interpretation" (p. 67). He appears to have been the earliest Christian exegete to have interpreted Jn. vii.38 of the Christian rather than of Christ,<sup>5</sup> and his influence was very strong both upon Greeks and Latins (*ibid.*). "Cyril of

<sup>1</sup> Gabalda, Paris : pp. 214-7. I am using the 7th edition (1948).

<sup>2</sup> xxiv (1922-3), pp. 66-70.

<sup>3</sup> i, no. 2 (1891), p. 98 (which however Lagrange by a slip quotes as no. 3).

<sup>4</sup> xxii (1941), pp. 269-302, 367-403.

<sup>5</sup> Rahner, *art. cit.*, p. 273.

Alexandria *ad loc.* adopts the same punctuation and exegesis".<sup>1</sup> But in the West a series of writers in different countries and before A.D. 260 agree in the translation given second in this paper: Turner quotes (after two anonymous writers) Cyprian, Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne.<sup>2</sup>

Origen's teaching is much concerned with *Gnosis*, a word meaning literally "knowledge", but used by him and others in a special and technical sense of a superior and quasi-mystical kind of knowledge, which may be compared to the higher contemplation of the Christian mystics. From the Divine Substance come inside the Divine Life three streams, Father, Word and Spirit: through the Spirit-imparting of Christ these are broken up and poured upon mankind through the revelation of the mystery hitherto hidden in God.<sup>3</sup> In the chosen soul this Trinitarian life reaches perfection. This inner source of the water of *Gnosis* (whence the word "Gnostic") can become so strong as to burst its banks, so that the Christian Gnostic becomes himself a mystagogue to others and a source of the Spirit; and in this sense Origen understands Jn. VII.37-8, which may thus be said (if so understood) to imply his whole ascetical and theological system of Christian *Gnosis*. Christ not only requires us to drink of the spring which is Himself, but the believer who drinks likewise becomes a spring, himself overflowing to enrich others.

But Origen also connected Jn. VII.38 with Jn. XIX.34: Christ was struck, and His Body gave forth blood and water. From His side comes the water of the New Testament, of which there is also question in Jn. IV.14. And if we ask, where did Origen find the biblical passage referred to in Jn. VII.38, the answer seems to be, in Prov. V.15-16, which runs in the Hebrew:

Drink waters out of thine own cistern,  
and running waters out of thine own well.  
Should thy springs be dispersed abroad,  
and be rivers of water in the streets?

Perhaps for "Should" it would be better to render "Let", turning the question into an exhortation. The Greek Old Testament has a somewhat different version of the last two lines:

Let not the waters from thy spring overflow,  
and thy waters course through thy streets.

It will be seen that the New Testament quotation is not a close one; but that is characteristic of many New Testament quotations, which

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *art. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> In Eusebius' *Church History*, BK VC. V, sect. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Rahner, *art. cit.*, p. 274.

sometimes (as here) bring out the sense without being quite literal. St Ambrose and St Jerome, who both drew so much on Origen, and had so much more of him to hand than we have, make this connexion between Jn. VII.38 with Prov. V.15-16 classical in Latin exegesis, and almost exclusive.<sup>1</sup> Père Lagrange accepts the reference to Prov. V.15, but not as entirely satisfying.

More attractive is the comparison of Christ's human Body to the spiritual Rock, the source of spiritual water gushing into eternal life, as suggested by Irenaeus and Hippolytus (Rahner, pp. 278-9, 369) with a strong foundation in St Paul (1 Cor. X.4). In 1 Peter II.1-10, the rock is connected with milk. When the lance pierces Christ's side, the living and life-giving waters gush forth, waters prefigured in the striking of the rock by Moses (Exod. XVII; Num. XX). Upon this exegesis the "his" of Jn. VII.38 is of course referred by Christ to Himself.

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<sup>1</sup> Rahner, *art cit.*, p. 282.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Dictionnaire de la Bible : Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot, continued by André Robert. FASC. XXVI. Letouzey et Ané, Paris 1953.

The valuable biblical dictionary of Vigouroux and its still more valuable supplement are too well known to need any introduction to our readers, but they will doubtless be glad to know of the progress of this great undertaking and what the new fascicle contains. It completes the article on Israelite Law by H. Cazelles (513-30), and concludes with the commencement of that on Mandaeism by J. Schmitt (758-68). Between these two there are, first, several biographical notices, on Wilhelm Lotz, Immanuel Löw, Andreas Evaristus Mader, Johann Mader, Alexis Mallon, S.J. (751-3), and a long account of the career of Alfred-Firmin Loisy, sympathetically written by J. Bonsirven, S.J. (530-44). The complete collapse of Loisy's influence is very striking. At one time his name was famous and his influence great. Even before his death in 1910 his tireless pen had lost its appeal and his works passed almost unnoticed. Towards the end of his life, when a reference was made to "his school", he pointed with a rather bitter smile to a flock of hens. In most of these notices it is possible to deduce what form of religion was professed by the scholar in question, but it would be well that this should never be left in doubt. And this, not merely because religion is the most important element in life, but because each one's religious presuppositions inevitably influence and colour his understanding of the sacred pages.

Other articles are historical and archaeological. That on Machaerus (613-18) is by M. Delcor; that on Macpelah (618-27) by R. de Vaux, O.P.; and that on the mosaic map of Madaba (627-704) by R. T. O'Callaghan, S.J. This very thorough study is accompanied by twenty-three illustrations and is largely occupied, from 638, with the elucidation of the inscriptions. The author considers most plausible the suggestion of Clermont-Ganneau that the artist wished to preserve the memory of the vision of the Promised Land contemplated by Moses from the summit of Mount Pisgah. Madaba is not far from Nebo. The discussion of Mambre (Mamre) (753-8) is by R. de Vaux, O.P. The article on Lysanias is from the pen of J. de Fraine, S.J.

Of the remaining studies, that on magic is shared by three writers, J. Largetment dealing with Sumerian-Accadian practices, A. Massart, S.J.,

with the Egyptian, and A. Lefèvre, s.j., with "The Bible and Magic". The last-named signs also the account of Cursing and Blessing.

Last but certainly not least must be mentioned the three biblical introductions. The treatment of St Luke's Gospel (545-94) was entrusted to the capable hands of L. Cerfaux and J. Cambier, s.d.b. It is stated as probable (570) that certain of the facts related by St Luke in his gospel of the Infancy were derived from followers of St John the Baptist. But is there anything in those chapters which could not have been learnt, as so much else was, directly from our Blessed Lady? She was a cousin of St Elizabeth's and lived for months in Zachary's home. There is a reference to St Luke's recognition of Christ's divinity, but it is disappointingly brief and does not extend beyond the mention of his use of the word *Kurios* in speaking of Christ. This does not justify the statement that the divinity of Christ "est affirmée clairement" (585). St Paul seems to use the word in contradistinction to *Theos*. A feature noticeable by its absence is a treatment of the literary affinities of the gospel of the Infancy with the account of the early years of the prophet Samuel.

The two books of Maccabees are ably treated by A. Lefèvre, s.j. (597-612). He has some wise and discreet remarks (611) about the visions of the second book. The author of the article on the prophet Malachy (739-46) is E. Pautrel, s.j. There is a regrettable lack of clarity in the writer's remarks concerning the celebrated prediction of the pure Sacrifice to be celebrated throughout the world. He rightly says that "the council of Trent has good reason to see (voit à juste titre) in the Sacrifice of the Mass the accomplishment of Malachy's prophecy" (744). Yet in the same column he states that the pure Sacrifice foretold by the prophet "is not even the specifically Christian rite of the future". It is not easy to divine the harmony between these two statements.

There are also two statements about blessings and curses which are not easy to reconcile (747): "Blessings and curses, in the strict sense, are always considered in the Bible as efficacious". Yet "one can hardly find in the Bible traces of an absolute value attributed by the Israelites to blessing or curse". Apparently the writer means an absolute value independently of the action of God. And why is it said that Isaac has only one blessing as he has only one life? Jacob had twelve blessings (Gen. XLIX.28).

Cazelles would date the Book of the Covenant at the time when the Israelites were in Moab shortly to pass over into Canaan, and his reason is that the Code has in view a pastoral people in process of becoming sedentary (517). Some measure of sedentary life had been attained already in the time of the patriarchs (Gen. XXVI.12).

Isaac sowed and reaped a rich crop. In Egypt the Israelites cannot have remained nomadic. Such a manner of life was incompatible with their enforced labour. And at Sinai Moses and the people were expecting soon to pass into possession of the Promised Land. It was only later that they were condemned to the long wandering in the wilderness (Num. xiv.33). The conditions at Sinai were practically the same as in Moab before the actual entry into Canaan.

It only remains to remark that there are rather numerous misprints in foreign names and words. In a great work of this nature in rather small (though easily legible) type some such slips are inevitable, but it is a little disconcerting to find Cardinal Newman's name twice misspelt (534, 535).

EDMUND F. SUTCLIFFE, S.J.

H. Pope, O.P. *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and amplified by S. Bullough, O.P. B. Herder Book Co., St Louis and London 1952. Pp. x + 787. 75s net.

This monumental work is a fitting memorial to the life-long labours of Fr Hugh Pope, O.P. At the time of his death (November 1946), the MS was already in the hands of the publishers, but required further revision and adjustment. This was done first of all by an American Benedictine, one of Herder's literary editors; Fr Sebastian Bullough was then entrusted with the task of further revision and amplification—some five chapters are entirely his work, and others have been rewritten or expanded. Finally, all this material was again rearranged by the same Benedictine editor, who also added a valuable appendix on American editions of the Catholic Bible.

The work is divided into five main parts. Part I—"Anglo-Saxon and Early English Manuscript Versions"—tells the story of the early Saxon versions and glosses, the Anglo-Norman, Early English and Wycliffite Versions. Chapter VI ("Pre-Wycliffite Versions") simply reproduces the relevant chapter in Fr Pope's *Catholic Students' Aids* (VOL.I). Had the author lived to revise this section, he would almost certainly have modified the opinion expressed in 1926, that there existed a complete orthodox pre-Wycliffite Bible in English, and that the Wycliffite Bible was "distinctly heretical".

Part II ("Early Printed Versions") opens with a valuable chapter on sixteenth-century Latin versions of the Bible—Erasmus, Beza, Pagnines, etc.—which exercised great influence on the early Protestant translators. Then, starting with Tyndale in 1525, the versions of the English reformers are passed in review: the translator—his life,

qualifications and motives; the printer, the format, title-page and dedication; the translation itself—sources and value, mistakes or omissions, and its rendering of characteristic passages; the notes—which betrayed the author's religious *animus*; finally, the various editions, their price and reception.

In Part III ("The Rheims-Douay and Authorized Versions"), Fr Pope's treatment of the oft-maligned Rheims New Testament is very sympathetic: the Vulgate text on which it was based, he points out, represented a Greek tradition superior to that of the *textus receptus* of the Reformers, whilst the sincerity and accuracy of the translators is now generally recognised (*cf.* too their handling of the Greek article). Thus, in spite of the "storm of controversy" which its publication aroused in England, it was—all unacknowledged—extensively used by the King James translators. The Douay Old Testament, not published till 1609, surpassed all previous English Bibles in paper, print and format; its notes formed a veritable catechism of Christian doctrine. The more pity that, after the second edition of 1635, it was never reprinted. There follows an account of the King James Version of 1611, and an interesting chapter on Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible*.

Part IV ("Catholic Versions since Rheims-Douay") is the most lengthy and original portion of the book, supplementing and often correcting the work of Dr Cotton a century ago. After chapters on the versions of Nary and Witham, we come to the various revisions of Dr Challoner, the express purpose of which was to provide the faithful with a readable, modern and portable edition of the Scriptures. Then follows the long and somewhat chequered story of subsequent versions of Challoner-Rheims down to the twentieth century: while the Old Testament remained fairly stable, some editors followed the first (1749) revision of the New Testament, often incorporating the eighteen peculiar variants of the 1750 revision; others, especially in the first decades, followed the 1752 revision, with its two-thousand-odd changes. MacMahon's revisions of 1783 ff. only added further variants, so that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed a "state of confusion" (p. 391), a confusion only very gradually resolved. Some twenty-odd mistakes or omissions have persisted in edition after edition of Douay-Challoner down to our own days; never yet, in fact, has a complete Catholic Bible or Testament issued from our press (p. 391). For all that, one cannot but admire the zeal of our bishops, clergy and publishers in keeping copies of the Catholic Scriptures in the hands of the faithful throughout the penal days—and wonder, too, at the number of editions published (as many as seven full Bibles and two New Testaments in one year!). The story



is varied by chapters on the work of independent labourers: the singular and unhappy Geddes, the scholarly Lingard, the zealous Dr Kenrick. Among the latest editions of Douay-Challoner is noted the American Confraternity Version of the New Testament, and there is a concluding chapter on independent Catholic versions of the twentieth century—Spencer, Westminster, Knox, and the new American translation.

Part V ("Protestant Versions since the Authorized Version") tells of the various private versions, mainly the work of Dissenters, which never seriously challenged the supremacy of the King James Version. There are chapters on the Revised Version, of which Fr Pope—following in the footsteps of Dean Burgon—is somewhat critical. Two concluding chapters treat of the American Revised Standard Version, and the various "Modern Speech" versions (Moffatt, Weymouth, Goodspeed, etc.), making the story complete up to 1950.

Of the four appendices, the first two reproduce in full the original prefaces to the Rheims New Testament and Douay Old Testament; the other two are lists of Catholic versions from 1505 to 1950, and of private non-Catholic versions between the Authorized and Revised Versions. A lengthy bibliography, a supplement listing American editions of the Catholic Bible, and a general index complete the work.

Printing and production are of high standard. A few errata have been noted: on p. 100, lines 1 and 2, for 1592 and 1596, read 1492 and 1496; delete the second *as* on p. 296, note 3, line 8; for *Erasmus*, read *Erasmus* (p. 328, note 60); for 1763, read 1764 (p. 355, line 8); for *Kildare Street*, read *Dawson Street* (p. 426, last line); on p. 667, line 4, for "*Cumminskey, Fielding, Lucas*", read "*Cummiskey, Fielding Lucas*"; read *recens* for *reens* (p. 700, line 18).

The price may seem high in terms of English money, but the value is excellent.

G. GRAYSTONE, S.M.

*Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, No. VI, 1953. Four Tomb Groups from Jordan.* By G. Lankester Harding, with contributions by G. R. Driver, B. S. J. Isserlin, O. Tufnell. The office of the Fund, 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London W1. Pp. xi + 72, frontispiece, with 23 figures and 7 plates. 15s.

The Palestine Exploration Fund commenced its series of *Annuals* in 1911. The great war of 1914 inevitably interrupted publication, which was resumed by the volume for 1923-5. The fifth, for 1927, appeared in 1929. And thereafter the series seemed to have succumbed

to circumstances. This was the more regrettable as it had produced such valuable reports as those on the *Excavations on the Hill of 'Ophel, Jerusalem* by Macalister and Garrow Duncan and *Excavations in the Tyropæon Valley, Jerusalem* by Crowfoot and FitzGerald. It is therefore with particular pleasure that we welcome its resuscitation with the handsomely produced volume now before us. It is no doubt due to the high costs of today that, whereas its predecessors were bound in stout cardboard with buckram spine, this Annual is protected only by a rather fragile stiff-paper cover. The price, however, is moderate in consideration of the number of figures and plates. Each of the figures presents numerous drawings of pottery ware.

Pottery has often a technical and artistic interest of its own, but its chief value in modern study of antiquity lies in its generally safe guidance in relative chronology. Just as palaeographers can date manuscripts by the style of the calligraphy to within comparatively narrow limits of time, so archaeologists by the technique, form and style of pottery have a very handy means of dating the contents of tombs and building levels. This chronological aid to history owes its scientific foundations to the labours and intuition of the late Sir Flinders Petrie. The chronological sequence of the ceramics of Palestine has been well known for some time, but that of Jordan is so far little known. Although the two regions lie so close geographically, "practically all the pottery shows variations on contemporary Palestinian wares, except when a common culture controls both countries as in the Hyksos period". The discovery of the four datable tombs and their contents described in the present volume is a valuable step forward in the construction of a reliable scheme of Jordanian dating.

The four tombs in question date respectively from the Early Bronze Age, the Middle Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age, and the Late Iron Age of the seventh century B.C. Of the pottery found in this last tomb at Amman, the capital, it is a surprise to read the judgment of Olga Tufnell on p. 66: "Mr Harding remarks on the high standard of perfection achieved by local potters (p. 57), and the bowls which they made appear to be better in quality than any products of Judah throughout the duration of the Kingdom". We have been inclined to look upon the culture of biblical Jordania as lagging behind that of Palestine. This tomb has the special distinction of being datable not merely to a period but to a definite reign. A seal was previously known, though the place where it was discovered has not been recorded, the owner of which was "Adoni-pelet, servant of Amminadab", and Amminadab was known to be an Ammonite king of the seventh pre-Christian century as he is mentioned as a contemporary by the great Assyrian monarch Ashurbanipal. In our tomb was found a

similar seal, perhaps of carnelian, which belonged to another courtier of the same king, "Adoni-nur, servant of Amminadab". The inscription on the seal consists of consonants only, like the Hebrew of the Lachish letters and the Hebrew of many subsequent centuries, and one wonders whether the Ammonites spoke of their god as did the Hebrews. If so, the name would read "Adonai-nur". The meaning of the two names would not be altered, the latter signifying "My Lord is light" and the former "My Lord gives rescue". Two other inscribed seals were found. Of one the legend is very imperfect and the other Professor Driver very plausibly reads as "Shub-'el", meaning "Turn (pray), O God", comparing the LXX form "Soubael" in 1 Paralip. xxv.4. There is a printer's error in the Hebrew on p. 51, where a *nun* is omitted, and also at the bottom of p. 52.

Reference should not be omitted to Lankester Harding's healthy scepticism of "Dr Glueck's oft-repeated statement that Trans Jordan was unoccupied between 1900 and 1200 B.C.". He points out that the sherds collected by Glueck "in his surface explorations give no clue to the form of the vessels", p. v. And the Bronze Age tomb at Amman "falls well within the limits of time given by Glueck, and cannot by its very nature be an isolated phenomenon, nor the work of 'Tent dwellers, who used for containers perishable skins and not enduring pottery'" (p. 14). It is to be hoped that some systematic excavation will shed more light on this question.

Finally, a small point, there is a misprint in the title of the Dominican biblical school at Jerusalem, p. v.

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